Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapíanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

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825 a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihenâ -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

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789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests [302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines [825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is [751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war"
/see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

/447/

The Fiesta of the Harvest of "Pijiguao"

527 The fiesta of the harvest of the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm
574 (Bactris gasipaës) is perhaps the most important event of the year.
During this harvest everybody has food to spare and consequently
[484] can receive all those who want to visit them. As a result of this
there is a great deal of traveling during this period.

[628] Frequently two or three settlements gather in order to celebrate the fiesta. Then one part will go to celebrate the same fiesta in other friendly settlements.

The hosts, and sometimes the visitors as well, go out on a hunting trip, which lasts for several days, until they collect a sufficient quantity of meat. This meat is smoked and preserved for the fiesta.

527 When the hunters come back, the fiesta begins at night with considerable joy and singing. The hunters gather and march around the interior patio of the settlement several times. Then
[526] there begins a mock battle with cudgels. Those who have axes or machetes use these in place of cudgels. They are waved about in the air in a way similar to an attack in fencing or fighting with cudgels. The weapons clash together, but blows are not struck at the body.

After this comes the fire procession. Every man takes a burning torch from the fire and joins the others who go around and around the periphery of the great circular patio formed by the huts. From time to time, when passing in front of one of the surrounding ranchos, they rap with the torch on one of the straight supports which hold up the roof, scattering sparks in the air.

[526] Afterwards, they do what is known as "golpeo al pecho" /hitting the chest/. The boys and a few men pair off against those of another settlement and carry out a duel of blows on the chest. One will present his chest while the other hits it with the side of the fist.

[533] All of these acts are carried out amidst much jubilation and singing. Sometimes this is repeated on the following night.

/448/

527 276 After this comes the daytime ceremony. A great deal of "yopo" is prepared and placed near the center of the group of huts. Some six or eight boys of the "host" settlement march around the patio and then toward the place where the "yopo" is. Another group of boys follows them rapidly. As each group arrives at the center, the boys receive a puff of "yopo" in the nose. After each and every one of the boys has taken the "yopo" through the nasal passage, the men follow them in the same way, in groups of six or eight. And when all of the "hosts" are in the center, the ones representing the "guest" or visiting settlement, follow them in the same "yopo" ceremony.

527 526 276 When each and every one has received his portion of "yopo," the group of men begins to march around in the center of the circular patio of the settlement. After a few minutes have passed, the men begin to separate off in pairs. The most violent of them begin having duels of blows on the chest. Others, seated by pairs on the ground, talk among themselves in the manner of the crooned messages.

The duels of blows on the chest receive the greatest attention. All those who are not paired off are watching. Also many of the women come to watch them. The group of onlookers approaches so close that only a part of them can manage to see what is actually happening.

527 276 Some of the men who have taken too much "yopo" lie impotently on their backs and are dragged out of the sun into the shade of the houses by the women.

And others who have taken a certain excess of "yopo" keep walking around, and their wives have great difficulty in keeping them inside the settlement. If they manage to get into the woods with no one watching over them, they may find themselves in grave danger.

[574] [484] After a while, everything begins to quiet down. Meat and as much "pijiguao" as it is possible to carry are given to the guests for their return trip. Thus they may take as long as a week on the trip to their settlement without running out of provisions.

241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey. Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits (pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö.

[222] Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados, peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants used for magical purposes only. Both their feasting practices

[133] [527] [122] and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 361 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old

[262] garden. Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread, and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

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[128] [1]The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their gardens accordingly.

222 in particular seasons; the most important are manaca, seje, moriche and yagua. The hearts as well as the fruits are eaten, and the Indians usually return to trees they have felled to collect the large, fat, white grubs that mature in the decayed pith. In general, a great deal of energy goes into the collection of these palm fruits in proportion to the caloric return and, even during the peak of the wild fruit harvest, the Yąnomamö still depend heavily on their cultivated foods.

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224 Two kinds of hunting techniques provide the Yąnomamö with most of their meat; the occasional kills made by their dogs provide the rest. The first, called rama, is the desultory individual hunting that goes on around the villages. These hunts rarely last more than one day. The second kind of hunting, called heniyomou, involves as many as a dozen hunters who set up a temporary camp a day's walk or more away from the village and use it as the base of operations. This kind of hunting may last five days or more and occurs immediately before a feast, as the etiquette of feasting requires that guests be given fresh meat to eat on their way home after the feast.

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Game animals most commonly taken include several species of monkeys, two species of wild pig, tapir, armadillo, agouti, anteaters, wild turkeys, and a small alligator-like reptile (babilla, Spanish). Other game animals taken with less enthusiasm and less frequency include deer, turtles, parrots, snakes, capibara, guinea-hens and a large rodent (lapa, Spanish).

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the [701] entire group has already decided to undertake. His major function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable [529] task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [574] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often super- [489] vises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food [578] given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [621] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting [629] stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

622 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 72 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

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of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

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In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mǫmariböwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Möwäraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mǫmariböwei-tedi and the Reyaboböwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Möwäraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

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[1]See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawä-tedi."

Their dependence
*628 on these allies was transformed into an im-
583 balance in the exchange of women between the two groups of
162 villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for
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*621 the villages in Table 1.

*628 The degree to which each village is dependent on its
583 allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyaboböwei-tedi,
726 being closer, geographically, to the MöwÏraoba-tedi, suffered
722 more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyaboböwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the MöwÏraoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

*621 Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the
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*628 Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information.
583 These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they
162 made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the
*628 only reason they have such a high percentage of women in
*621 their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized
726 by the MöwÏraoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacher-
• 527 ous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds
165 of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yanomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kä bosi kuwemou, bei kä bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (kawä) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

avoid the raids from the Patanowë-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwë's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwë. The entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwë punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1968 the Patanowë-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the Patanowë-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the Patanowë-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

609 601 799 [609] [601] groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.

609 521 601 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind each other of obligations when they use this kinship term. A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

*628 574 609 601 583 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.

*628 *527 574 583 581 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-

changes bind the villages to each other, are weak and unstable. The more frequently allies visit and feast with each other, the less likely treachery will take place, as a certain amount of trust and friendship is generated by visiting and feasting.

The tendency for Yąnomamö villages to create artificial shortages of certain manufactured items is related to feasting and the creation of organic solidarity of a sort. After Yąnomamö villages enter into alliances, they tend to adjust their economic production of such items as bows, arrow cane, spun cotton, tobacco, baskets, cultivated drugs, dogs and clay cooking pots. Any village is capable of producing all of these goods, but allied villages create shortages of some of these items so that they can become dependent on the productivity of their allies, thereby having excuses to visit and trade.

One of the most significant relationship in trading between villages is the <u>shoriwä</u> tie, and these men trade with each other whenever they visit. As a trade frequently involves feasting, the specialization in production of specific items leads to greater solidarity between allied villages. Although it would be an error simply to identify the role of <u>shoriwä</u> with that of trading partner, this aspect of the <u>shoriwä</u> tie, particularly between men of different villages, is by no means negligible in accounting for the solidarity this relationship promotes in inter-village political ties.

The way the trading is conducted also contributes to

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Ysnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are created and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

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[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Ysnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

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591 full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

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622 The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kɐobawɨ's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwɨ, 18). Whenever Kɐobawɨ organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Madesiwɨ, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kɐobawɨ. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawɨ, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kɐobawɨ's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kɐobawɨ's nephew, Bɨkotawɨ, 18 years old.

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591 Kɐobawɨ's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kɐobawɨ to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
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613 asked Kaobawë what he had done about it. He said he had
561 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
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554 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
571 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
light, as Kaobawë could not force Shiimima to return it.
When I questioned Kaobawë about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
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• 529 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
594 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
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554 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
591 Kaobawë usually goes to the center of the village and begins
561 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kaobawë requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
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602 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
561 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
593 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
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613 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

628 can be pushed around. Thus, even the strongest alliances are tenuous at best, as the possibility is ever present that one of the allies will treacherously turn on the other.

628 In February 1965 the Bisaasi-tedi held a feast for
152 the Mahekodo-tedi and Boreta-tedi. The visitors arrived
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527 earlier than scheduled, ate excessively, stole food from the gardens at night, and refused to go home after the feast terminated. The Bisaasi-tedi had not alternative but to challenge the guests to a chest-pounding duel; failure to have done so would have implied that they could be easily coerced. When the guests were challenged, they packed and departed. For a while the Bisaasi-tedi felt that they had successfully coerced their guests into leaving, presuming that their guests departed out of fear. However, the guests returned that evening to meet the challenge, lest the rumor spread that they themselves were weak and could be intimidated. Just before I left the field a rumor was circulated that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi had accused the Bisaasi-tedi of weakness, and wanted to fight them to show them they were stronger. The rumor asserted that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi intended to challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a chest-pounding duel. The Bisaasi-tedi were enraged when they heard of this rumor, and immediately sent a delegation of men to Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi to challenge the men of that village to a fight. But, to show that they were not only not cowards but exceptionally fierce as well, they challenged the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi to a duel with axes! The Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi denied the rumor and the duel never took place.

000 never took place.

*621 *628 152 152 One of the functions served by the levels of violence in Yąnomamö fighting is that the Yąnomamö are able to exhibit their ferocity in relatively benign forms and thereby live up to their claims of fierceness. But, since any form of violence can escalate to a more serious form of fighting, the system of violence itself constitutes a strain on the solidarity of relationships between and within villages.

*628 • 527 574 578 152 156 One peculair feature of this syndrome of fierceness is that smaller villages tend to be the most aggressive in their dealings with outsiders and with allies. The reason seems to be that smaller villages are more compelled to display their tenacity, as they are more obviously the weaker members in alliances. The expression of violence by members of allied villages, ironically enough, takes place during feasts. Thus, grievances that may have developed between members of allied villages since they last feasted together are satisfied during the course of the next feast. Thus, during the situations most likely to promote solidarity, allies frequently display their capacity to fight, informing their allies that they are sovereign, friendly, but fierce. The form of violence associated with feasting is usually chest pounding, but if someone is injured, the duel may escalate to side-slapping with the flat side of a machete. It smacks of the ridiculous to witness groups of men beating each other violently in such duels, and shortly thereafter embrace each other around the neck and chant, each man

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promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

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Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

129 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.
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162 There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
*621 not representative of the typical Yąnomamɜ̈ village: the sex
*623 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
562 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
583 stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mɜ̈maribɜ̈wei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
• [529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[574] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[626] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawɜ̈, has astutely manipulated

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128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawɜ̈-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

*621 613 602 562 582 583 members of his own village, Hasaböwä-tedi, who killed his father. Reromawä's group was then actively raiding Hasaböwä-tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawä's village, the widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast. The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last man and his family joined Reromawä's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the Mǫmariböwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 582 583 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into alliance with two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mǫmariböwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors in the group. *628 *527 574 438 602 The Mǫmariböwei-tedi visit them frequently to feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and the Mǫmariböwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically related. *628 602 Monou-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

[1] Reromawä's actual son, and Reromawä's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawë's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowë and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowë-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-këkö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hąhoyaoba-tëka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hąhoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwë-tedi and Ashadowë-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

and returned to Patanowĕ-tĕka. A segment of the group that returned to Patanowĕ-tĕka immediately began making a new garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowĕ-tĕka, anticipating that further hostilities with the Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowĕ-tĕka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders' arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group at Patanowĕ-tĕka abandoned their village and rejoined their agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tĕka, whence they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found at Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowĕ-tedi.

With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of Makuwĕ. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-tedi, killing Husiwĕ (Nabĕyoma's husband), Hoari, and Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawĕ and the two younger brothers of Paruriwĕ, and had one of their women, Buhiomi, seized.

Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one elsewhere.

174 Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in
175 their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved
361 to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari
922 village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on
+628 the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's
[574] village and entered into feasting relationships with his
followers.

174 Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari
+175 with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's vil-
628 lage. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-
602 tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned
529 to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing
574 this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother,
[723] Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier
[721] by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tëka.

174 The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and
+175 went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December
628 through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along
529 with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the
574 jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at
726 the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's
[132] men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were
[48] killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades
were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with
the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large
174 number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were
175 seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari
726
729

[Mamowei-tedi Group]

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawë-tedi had split from Sibarariwë's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreibowei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawë-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwë's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwë and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawë-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwë to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawë-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawë-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawë-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawë-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwë. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwë's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwë's group was living at Amąrokobŏ-wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreibŏwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwë's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwë's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamobŏwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawë-tedi, and Sibarariwë returned to Amąrokobŏwei about 1955. The Paruritawë-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwë's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwë's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Mŏwëraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Mąmaribŏwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawë-tedi

The Paruritawë-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawë-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwë's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawë-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwë's group avenged this by mounting raids

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mõmaribõwei and Reyabobõwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobõwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyabobõwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

Patanowä-tedi and her two colonies, Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, were generally of a suspicious nature; only a few individuals trusted the members of the other group enough to visit their village.

By 1964 the Patanowä-tedi had become involved in a particularly vicious war with a number of neighboring villages, and were badly in need of military assistance. Their only allies were the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group living two days' walk south of them. Consequently, the Patanowä-tedi informed the Bisaasi-tedi that they were willing to make peace with them. The Bisaasi-tedi extended a feast invitation to the Patanowä-tedi to demonstrate their interest in making peace and, in late November 1964 the entire village of Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in the feast. This marked the first time since 1940 that the two groups as groups visited each other.

The Monou-tedi were not involved in the feast, but a number of men from that village came to Bisaasi-tedi intending to abduct Patanowä-tedi women. They succeeded in capturing seven women the day that the Patanowä-tedi arrived, and took them back to Monou-tedi without being discovered. The Patanowä-tedi men, enraged at the loss of seven women, sent a party of men to Monou-tedi the following morning to recover the women. The Patanowä-tedi men entered Monou-tedi and forcibly took five of the seven women away from their captors. The Patanowä-tedi retreated before actual shooting broke out and returned to Bisaasi-tedi. The Monou-tedi were furious

over the loss of the five women, and Yąnomamö canons of ferocity dictated that this loss would have to be avenged. The Monou-tedi informed the Patanowä-tedi that they were going to shoot them on sight the next time they met.

After the Patanowä-tedi returned to Bisaasi-tedi they packed their possessions and left for home. The feast was cancelled, as the Patanowä-tedi feared being ambushed by a Monou-tedi raiding party if they remained at Bisaasi-tedi. Before departing, the Patanowä-tedi assured their hosts that they still wanted peace with them, no matter what the Monou-tedi eventually did.

This illustrates dramatically the Yąnomamö political philosophy that it is legitimate to take advantage of a weak village. The Monou-tedi, knowing that the Patanowä-tedi were politically in need of allies, took advantage of this situation when they abducted the women. They also knew that the Bisaasi-tedi would not take Patanowä-tedi's side in the dispute that was bound to follow, as too many of the Bisaasi-tedi had personal grudges against the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi also knew that the Patanowä-tedi were not likely to begin a war over this incident, as they already had more enemies than they could successfully withstand without allies. In short, the Monou-tedi knew that they stood a good chance of gaining women by abducting them from the Patanowä-tedi without great risk of being shot by the latter. As the conclusion shows, they managed to obtain two women and did not get into a shooting war with the Patanowä-tedi. However, their anger at

There were, however, two recognizable factions within this group; one was led by Kpobëwë, who had many relatives in both Patanowë-tedi and Monou-tedi, and the other was led by Pararuiwë, who had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowë-tedi, but many in Monou-tedi. Pararuiwë's group was linked to Kpobëwë's by a number of marriage ties.

Kpobëwë was the acknowledged leader of the entire upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Pararuiwë's group, although Pararuiwë had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Pararuiwë began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village headman. Thus, when Kpobëwë initiated a feast for members of an allied village, Pararuiwë duplicated his efforts by sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Pararuiwë, by duplicating Kpobëwë's efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

The emergence of Pararuiwë as an important leader was largely the result of his active prosecution of the war against the Patanowë-tedi. Kpobëwë, after he led one revenge raid against the Patanowë-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowë-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

726 Bisasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid
*728 from them. Parurìwë seized upon this as his opportunity to
622 advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated
[564] several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support
of Kaobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi.
[602] As Parurìwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman
(consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen
as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

156 Parurìwë's behavior in other respects changed after
622 the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he
[123] was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again,
[913] he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one
occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she
responded slowly to his demand for food while Parurìwë was
entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the
visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a
#621 force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field,
622 Parurìwë and his group separated from Kaobëwë's and moved
361 across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house
* 529 on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This
574 move underscored his position as a headman, as he could
initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up
until the time he moved, visitors from other villages con-
sistently sought out Kaobëwë as Bisasi-tedi's headman during
the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how
much effort Parurìwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the
feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

one real headman, Kpobëwë. Thus, Paruriwë had to separate from Kpobëwë's group to achieve a status equal to that of Kpobëwë.

In July 1965 Kpobëwë sent his brother-in-law, Kumanawë, to Patanowë-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the Patanowë-tedi in the future. When Kumanawë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the Patanowë-tedi trusted Kpobëwë and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from Patanowë-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, Kprokoiwë, Maaiwë, and Koiyeiwë, arrived. Paruriwë's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of Patanowë-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit Kpobëwë, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. Kpobëwë, however, warned Paruriwë and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day Paruriwë and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, Paruriwë decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the Patanowë-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized Kpobëwë's influence as a leader, and Paruriwë decided to move away from Kpobëwë's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

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general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kaobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kaobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kaobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kaobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kaobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kaobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kaobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kaobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kaobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kaobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kaobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yanomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kaobawä's group.

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spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowī's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawī's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawī and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawī's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawī's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawī's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawī's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawī's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawā-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawī and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawā-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawā-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawī's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawā-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawā-teri. Kąobawā and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawā-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawā-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawā-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawā and his group.

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Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kaobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kaobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kaobawä's group.

Kaobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kaobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kaobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kaobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kaobawä's village, Kaobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mömariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kaobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mömaribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These unContacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kaobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the unContacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the unContacted villages has a brother in Mömariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.